

**File #:**

62-116398

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**Serial Scope:**

1373 - EBF

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SSC REQUEST 12-18-75

ITEM 6

Reference FBI Memo 1-27-76

File Copy

*See 1373*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Los Angeles, California  
March 20, 1968

Reply, Please Refer to  
No.

CONFIDENTIAL

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Lieutenant H. H. Fair, Anaheim Police Department, Anaheim, California, advised March 14, 1968, that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was scheduled to address the convention of the California Democratic Council at the Anaheim Convention Center, Anaheim, California, at noon on Saturday, March 16, 1968.

Lieutenant H. H. Fair, supra, advised on March 16, 1968, that Dr. King appeared at a press conference at the Disneyland Hotel, Anaheim, California, that date. He stated that he never endorsed any presidential candidate, but spoke highly of Senator Eugene Mc Carthy, Minnesota, and indicated that he might endorse him as a presidential candidate in the 1968 election, claiming that he is passive, non-violent but militant against poverty and the Vietnam War.

Lieutenant Fair, supra, stated that Dr. King also appeared as the main speaker at the luncheon of the California Democratic Council which was held at the Anaheim Convention Center on the same date. Dr. King stated that if the Government would do something about Negro poverty in the winter time there would be less likelihood of summer violence. He also indicated that there would be a march on Washington, D. C., in April 1968 and the participants will conduct a "stay-in" at Governmental offices until the end of the congressional session to protest Negro poverty. He stated that it was ridiculous to spend money to kill Vietnamese in Vietnam and not help underprivileged Negroes.

Lieutenant Fair, supra, stated that King left Anaheim at 2:30 p.m. for an unknown appointment in Los Angeles.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
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CONFIDENTIAL

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declassification

3264

CONFIDENTIAL

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 17, 1968, that Dr. King spoke at an Elk's Club somewhere in Los Angeles on the afternoon of March 16, 1968. There he received donations for the Washington Spring Project in the amount of \$6,000, in cash and an undisclosed amount in checks.

The "Los Angeles Times"; a daily newspaper published in Los Angeles, California, in its issue of March 17, 1968, carried an article which quoted Dr. King while he was in Anaheim, California, on March 16, 1968. He stated, "The problem is the Government has many programs but nothing has been done." He stated that the spring demonstrations which he will begin in Washington, D. C., on April 22, 1968, are to appeal to the conscience of Congress to escalate the war on poverty and racism and de-escalate the war in Vietnam.

Officer J. Fredericks, Airport Detail, Los Angeles Police Department, advised on March 18, 1968, that Dr. King was staying at the Hyatt House Hotel, 5547 West Century Boulevard, Los Angeles, and would be leaving Los Angeles for New Orleans and Memphis about noon on March 18, 1968, via National Airlines.

The "Los Angeles Times", previously mentioned in its issue of March 18, 1968, indicated that Dr. King had spoken at the Second Baptist Church in Los Angeles on Sunday, March 17, 1968. He stated that it was time for someone in Washington to admit that a mistake has been made in Vietnam and that this nation is involved in a "senseless, reckless, immoral and unwinnable war." He also indicated white racism is "still a glaring reality in our country" and that Congress, dominated by the rural South "stands as a stubborn force in the way of social progress."

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- 2\* -

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

March 20, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-57229

Title - MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Character SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference Letterhead memorandum dated  
and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 3 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI MEMPHIS

*To provide security  
to crypto systems*

URGENT 4-3-68

TO DIRECTOR

FROM MEMPHIS (157-1092) 2P

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN., *RM*

RE ME TEL APRIL TWO SIXTYEIGHT

FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF APRIL TWO ACTIVITIES.

LT. E. H. ARKIN, MEMPHIS PD, INSPECTIONAL BUREAU ADVISED APRIL TWO, LAST THAT LARRY PAYNE'S BODY WAS INTERRED FOLLOWING FUNERAL WITH ABOUT FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS IN ATTENDANCE. NO INCIDENTS REPORTED.

ARKIN ADVISED THAT APPROXIMATELY SIXTY SANITATION WORKERS MARCHED DOWNTOWN MEMPHIS AFTERNOON OF APRIL TWO, LAST. NO UNUSUAL INCIDENTS REPORTED.

EASTERN AIRLINES ADVISED MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., ALONG WITH RALPH D. ABERNATHY, BERNARD LEE, AND ANDREW M. YOUNG SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE ME., TEN FIFTEEN AM APRIL THREE, FROM ATLANTA.

A SOURCE ADVISED THAT AT A PRESS CONFERENCE <sup>100-106670</sup> ~~100~~ CLAYBORNS APRIL TWO, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) REPRESENTATIVES STATED THAT NIGHTLY MASS STRIKE-SUPPORT MEETINGS WILL BE RESUMED NIGHT OF APRIL THREE, NEXT WITH KING AS THE FEATURED SPEAKER. MASS MARCH TO BE HELD FRIDAY, APRIL FIVE, NEXT AND ALLEGEDLY WILL INCLUDE CHILDREN.

END PAGE ONE.

Included in letter to White House  
Attorney General. Date 4-3-68

APR 5 1968

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

*Racial Matter*

*copy*

*H.C.*

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NOT RECORDED

APR 17 1968

PAGE TWO

LT. ARKIN ADVISED MEMPHIS CITY OFFICIALS ARE CONSIDERING SEEKING A COURT INJUNCTION PROHIBITING ANY MASS MARCH LED BY KING OR AN INJUNCTION SPECIFYING CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH A MARCH COULD TAKE PLACE.

CAPTAIN J. G. RAY, MEMPHIS PD, INSPECTIONAL BUREAU ADVISED LATE PM APRIL TWO, LAST THAT ONLY MINOR INCIDENTS OF BRICK THROWING AND SMALL GATHERINGS OF INDIVIDUALS REPORTED. RAY ADVISED NO MAJOR DISTURBANCES OR ANY UNUSUAL INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE REPORTED IN LATE PM APRIL TWO, LAST OR EARLY AM APRIL THREE, INSTANT.

END  
RGM  
FBI WASH DC

CC: ROOM 333 333

DC

*To provide security  
to crypto system*

FBI MEMPHIS

URGENT 4-3-68

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

FROM MEMPHIS 157-1092 2P

*CR ...*

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN., RM.

*GC ...  
T ...  
D ...*

REPRESENTATIVES OF EASTERN AIRLINES ADVISED REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., AND SCLC STAFF MEMBERS DOROTHY COTTON, ANDREW J. YOUNG, BERNARD LEE AND RALPH D. ABERNATHY ARRIVED MEMPHIS FROM ATLANTA, GA. NO RETURN OR OUTGOING RESERVATIONS FOR ANY OF ABOVE KNOWN AT THIS TIME.

*100-106670*

A SOURCE ADVISED THAT STRATEGY MEETING HELD WEDNESDAY APRIL TWO LAST ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNITY ON THE MOVE FOR EQUALITY (COME), THE MINISTERIAL GROUP IN MEMPHIS SUPPORTING SANITATION STRIKE, BY REPRESENTATIVES OF SCLC, SPOKESMAN FOR WHICH WAS HOSEA WILLIAMS, AND BY REPRESENTATIVES OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF COUNTY, STATE AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, SPOKESMEN BEING WILLIAM LUCY AND JESSE EPPS, FIELD REPRESENTATIVES THEREOF. AT THIS STRATEGY MEETING, THE MASS MARCH, ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR APRIL FIVE NEXT TO BE LED BY KING WAS RE-SCHEDULED FOR MONDAY, APRIL EIGHT, REASON BEING THAT UNION REPRESENTATIVES

NOT RECORDED  
183 APR 9 1968

1 APR 5 1968

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PAGE TWO

FEEL THAT STRIKE HAS BECOME A RACIAL ISSUE AND THAT THERE IS DEFINITE NEED FOR A MORE UNIFIED SUPPORT BY UNION PEOPLE ASSUMING MORE ACTIVE ROLES IN STRATEGY AND DECISION. EPPS IS ARRANGING THROUGH UNKNOWN UNION OFFICIALS TO BRING TWO CHARTERED PLANE LOADS OF "UNION PEOPLE," MANY OF WHOM WILL BE OF WHITE RACE, FROM NEW YORK CITY AREA DUE TO ARRIVE MEMPHIS SOMETIME APRIL SEVEN NEXT, AND THAT EFFORTS WILL BE MADE TO PLACE AS MANY WHITES AS POSSIBLE IN THE FRONT OF THE MASS MARCH. SOURCE ONE ADDED KING SCHEDULED TO HAVE STRATEGY MEETING WITH ABOVE GROUP AT NOON APRIL THREE AND TO DELIVER ADDRESS AT MASS SUPPORT RALLY MASON TEMPLE, NIGHT APRIL THREE.

NEW YORK AT NEW YORK, WILL THROUGH LOGICAL SOURCES INCLUDING AIRPORT OFFICIALS DETERMINE SPECIFICS OF GROUP OR GROUPS WHICH MAY BE LEAVING NEW YORK AREA TO COME TO MEMPHIS TO PARTICIPATE IN MASS MARCH AND RELATED STRIKE SUPPORT ACTIVITIES. ADVISE MEMPHIS AND BUREAU OF POSITIVE INFORMATION BY TELETYPE. AIRMAIL COPY TO ATLANTA.

P. END.

CAS

FBI WASH DC

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Date: 4/2/68

Transmit the following in (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings and may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C
Bufile 100-106670
Atfile 100-5586

D.M. [Handwritten initials]

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT
RM
Bufile 157-8428
Atfile 157-2024

AGENCY: ACSI, OSI:SEC. SER:
DATE FORW: 4/8/68
BY: [Handwritten signature]

ReAttels to Bureau 3/30 and 31/68 captioned "WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT, RM", "MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM - C" and 4/2/68 captioned "WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT, RM."

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and eight copies, for Chicago two, for Memphis two, for New York three, and for WFO two, of LHM.

Source

Source referred to is [Redacted]

Source

Source utilized to characterize JAMES BEVEL is [Redacted] Source
Source utilized to characterize STANLEY LEVISON is [Redacted] Source
Source utilized to characterize HOSEA WILLIAMS is [Redacted] Source
Sources utilized to characterize HUNTER PITTS O'DELL are [Redacted] Source

- 4- Bureau (Enc. 9) (100-106670) (1 - 157-8428)
2- Chicago (Enc. 2) (RM)
2- Memphis (Enc. 2) (RM)
3- New York (Enc. 3) (RM) (1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON)
1- WFO (Enc. 2) (RM)
1- Atlanta (1 - 100-5586) (1 - 100-7027) (MISSIE JACKSON)
1 - 157-8428 (HOSEA WILLIAMS)

REC 36

EX 100

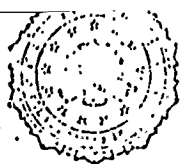
AT 100-5586  
AT 157-2924

*Source*

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION FURNISHED BY  WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY. INFORMATION FURNISHED BY  MUST BE CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL. THE FOREIGN RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE ENJOYS AN EXTREMELY DELICATE RELATIONSHIP WITH SCLC.

*Source*

The enclosed LHM has been classified Secret *Source* because it contains information furnished by . It is felt this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

SECRET

Atlanta, Georgia  
April 2, 1968

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT  
RACIAL MATTER

On April 1, 1968, a confidential source advised he understood that following the racial disturbance which occurred in Memphis, Tennessee, on March 28, 1968, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) called a meeting of several SCLC Executive officers which was held March 30, 1968, at the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta. Among those attending this meeting were James Bevel, SCLC Executive Staff member; Jesse Jackson, Northern Director, Project Breadbasket, SCLC; Hosea Williams, Director of Voter Registration and Political Education, SCLC; and Stanley Levison.

Reverend King arranged this meeting for the purpose of reviewing the recent disturbance in Memphis and evaluating the effect thereof upon SCLC's contemplated Washington Spring Project (WSP). Reverend King opened this meeting by again stressing to those present how greatly concerned he was as to the effect of the Memphis disturbance on his image as a civil rights leader and the position of SCLC as a leading civil rights organization. This entire matter apparently upset Reverend King to the extent he found it desirable to excuse himself from this meeting shortly after its commencement. Source was unable to advise whether Reverend King returned to the meeting.

This meeting lasted most of the day and concluded with a decision on the part of those present that SCLC officials would immediately return to Memphis, re-organize the striking Sanitation

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SECRET

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT

Workers in that community particularly along the lines of nonviolence and subsequently conduct a peaceful demonstration in that community. Having accomplished this SCLC will have shown to the nation it can conduct a peaceful demonstration and therefore the way should be clear for it to proceed with its WSP.

2

SECRET

JAMES BEVEL

SECRET

BEVEL, in early March, 1966 was observed to be present at the offices of the West Side I.W.O. DuBois Club in Chicago (DCC). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DuBois Clubs as a Communist front. BEVEL, in conversation, stated that he would have ignored this notification, and kept about his work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DuBois Clubs have a real program of help for the people, then people would answer for the clubs despite any labels applied to them.

Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent hearings into Klan activities in this country was only a beginning which would lead to a full attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a Communist, and to this BEVEL was overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. He stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will all be Communists.

SECRET

1 | SECRET

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

4

SECRET

SECRET

1  
W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS  
OF CHICAGO (DCC)

On May 3, 1965, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who attended the founding convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the national DCA.

A second source advised on May 1, 1967, that DCA chartered clubs in the Chicago area are the West Side DCC and the North-Side DCC, neither of which currently maintain a headquarters. There is no central headquarters for the DCC and there are no unchartered clubs in this area.

The second source advised that the majority of DCC members are also members of the CP.

During the past year DCC activity has been almost nonexistent.

55

SECRET



SECRET

STANLEY LEVISON

A confidential source advised in April, 1964,  
that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist  
Party (CP), USA, in July, 1963. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

FOREIGN Intelligence Operation  
ONGOING

SECRET

SECRET

HOSEA WILLIAMS

During October, 1964, a confidential source advised that on October 3, 1964, RUTH BAILEY, then an employee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, (SCLC), Harlem, New York Office, while discussing several SCLC personalities with one CONNIE CAMPBELL, referred to WILLIAMS. BAILEY said WILLIAMS had mentioned to her (date not specified) that on a prior occasion (date not specified) HENNER PETER O'DELL had told him more about politics than he could read.

SECRET

SECRET

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

In July, 1962, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, also known as JACK H. O'DELL, was considered by the Communist Party, USA, as a member of its National Committee.

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL told BERTINA SMITH December 27, 1963, he would not go back to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on the same basis because he is now a "left person" and if they cannot accept him the way he is then they will have to forget about him.

8\*

SECRET



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia  
April 2, 1968

**Title** MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT

**Character** SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTER

**Reference.** Atlanta Memorandum dated and captioned  
as above.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

SECRET

Atlanta, Georgia  
April 2, 1968

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
RACIAL MATTER

On April 1, 1968, a confidential source advised that as of that date Hosea Williams, Director of Voter Registration and Political Education, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Jesse Jackson, Northern Director, Project Breadbasket, SCLC; James Bevel, SCLC Executive staff member; and James Orange, SCLC Field Representative, were in Memphis, Tennessee, for the purpose of re-organizing striking Sanitation Workers in that city along the lines of SCLC's philosophy of nonviolence.

The aforementioned SCLC officials expected Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President, SCLC, and Ralph D. Abernathy, Vice President and Treasurer, SCLC, to arrive in Memphis on April 2, 1968. In the near future, (date not known), Reverend King intended to lead a nonviolent demonstration of the Memphis Sanitation Workers.

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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET  
GROUP 1

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XEROX  
APR 10 1968

100-106670-3290

SECRET

HOSEA WILLIAMS

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3

SECRET

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Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent shadings into Klan activities in this country was only a beginning which would lead to a full attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a Communist, and to this BEVEL was overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. He stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will all be socialists.

4

SECRET





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reply, Please Refer to  
No.

Atlanta, Georgia  
April 2, 1968

**Title** MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE  
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

**Character** SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTER

**Reference** Atlanta Memorandum dated and captioned  
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**SECRET**

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OF CHICAGO (DCC)

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6\*

**SECRET**



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York  
April 1, 1968

Bufile 100-106670

**SECRET**

Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Security Matter - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned on March 29, 1968, that on that date, Stanley Levison and Martin Luther King, Jr. discussed the position which King has found himself in as a result of the violence that occurred in Memphis, Tennessee, on March 28, 1968, at the time when King led a march through downtown Memphis. King told Levison that he feels they have to face the fact that, from a public relations point of view and every other way, "we are in serious trouble". He referred to the Washington D.C. Spring campaign, known as the Poor People's Campaign, and said as far as it is concerned it is in trouble. King noted that it will be much more difficult to recruit people for the Washington campaign now because they (the Southern Christian Leadership Conference)(SCLC) are recruiting non-violent people and these people will hold back if they think they will be in a campaign that is going to be taken over by violent elements. King stated that this is not a failure for the SCLC because it has enough of a program to affirm its position but that it is a personal setback for himself.

King continued that persons such as Roy Wilkens (Head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and Adam Clayton Powell, and Negroes who are influenced by the press, will now feel that he, King, is finished, that his non-violence is nothing, that no one is listening to it. King reiterated that they have had a great public relations setback as far as his image and leadership are concerned.

**SECRET**

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure

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100-106670-329  
ENCLOSURE

SECRET

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Levison attempted to dissuade King from this point of view stating that it would be true only if King accepts "their" definition. He added that he felt it is a profound error King is making.

King noted that he did not accept it himself but that others will. Levison retorted that people would accept it for a few days, but, if events prove otherwise, will not accept it.

King noted that events will not prove otherwise unless they think soberly through this period. He said that somehow he had to reaffirm what the press will refuse to affirm. He referred to the Memphis incident stating that they all know it was just a few people who were involved. He added that it was a failure of the leadership in Memphis. King informed Levison that persons who were responsible for the violence came to see him on the morning of March 29, 1968. He said these persons were fighting the leadership in Memphis, the men who ignored and neglected them, the men who would not give them any attention, who ordered their telephones cut off. King added that he had no knowledge of all this, that the persons responsible for the violence were too sick to see that what they were doing during the violence was hurting him, King, more than it could hurt the local preachers.

King related that he was so upset and shocked over the Memphis violence that he was going to announce a personal fast as a means of appealing to the Memphis leadership, as well as those who participated in the violence, to come to him in a united front to take up the "cudget" and get on with the movement. He said he felt this kind of spiritual move would be a way of unifying the movement, of transforming a minus into a plus. He added that he feels their Washington campaign is doomed.

Levison attempted to convince King that his reasoning was not correct. Levison said he was concerned over the "trap" King was placing non-violence in because King was saying that he must have 100% adherence to non-violence which is an impossibility.

King commented that they could not get 100% adherence but that they must face the fact that a riot broke out in the ranks of the march, that "these fellows", in the line of march, would

- 2 -

SECRET

Martin Luther King, Jr.

jump out, do something, and then come back to hide within the group. King said he is a symbol of non-violence and that the press is not going to say what Levison said. He said the symbol will be weakened and it will put many Negroes in doubt. He said he must do something that is a powerful act to unify forces and refute the press.

Levison stated that if it had this result he would agree but that he is bothered by the idea that King would be accepting the logic of the press that if King can control 99%, and not the 1% who are violent, he is a failure. He said they must find a way in which they do not accept this otherwise King will never be able to do anything unless he always spiritually reaches a level where he hypnotizes every Negro alive.

King questioned how he could say that they can control the planned demonstrations in Washington, D.C. and at the same time conclude they are going to have 1% violence.

Levison counseled that King can say that he can control his followers and is not undertaking to control everybody else. He said King could take the position that his followers are non-violent and will do what they must do.

They agreed to discuss the matter in depth at a meeting in Atlanta, Georgia in King's church office on the morning of March 30, 1968.

The same source advised on March 31, 1968, that on that date Stanley Levison commented on the meeting held in Atlanta, Georgia, on March 30, 1968. Levison's comments included the following:

At the Atlanta meeting they examined the whole Memphis incident and came up with a new approach. "We are going back to Memphis. We are going to prove that you can have mass action in the streets". Martin Luther King had decided not to go back to Memphis and not to go to Washington (for the Poor People's Campaign). It was the determination of the (SCLC) staff that

Martin Luther King, Jr.

changed King's thinking. King is going back to Memphis on Tuesday (April 2, 1968) and there will be a big march on Friday (April 5, 1968). The Memphis incident was caused by "a handful of kids" and it could have been controlled by "our guys" (the SCLC) had they been there.

He, Levison, made the point that they could not let "a couple of kids" keep "mass action" from being their weapon.

As for controlling the Washington, D.C. demonstrations, King knows he can control the youth. What has to be done is go to the high schools and tell them what the establishment wants them to do. Once they grasp this there is no chance of anything happening. What they (the SCLC) are afraid of in Washington is a double cross from Stokely Carmichael and the answer to that is that "our job" (the SCLC) is not to stop violence but to be non-violent themselves. "Our position" is that "we" are going to go on because to be able to march in the streets is "our most important tool" and are not going on the streets because it may start violence. "Why do we have to be afraid of riots". It is their problem not ours".

The Atlanta meeting was good because it shows how much militancy there is in the SCLC.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) in July, 1963. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE  
OPERATION - ONGOING

VIA TELETYPE  
APR 1 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

SUN

To provide security to crypto system

URGENT 4-1-68

TO DIRECTOR 100-106670 AND MEMPHIS (CODE)  
ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
FROM NEW YORK 100-136585 1P

SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST  
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM - C. OO - ATLANTA

SOURCE

SOURCE WHOSE INFORMATION IS TO BE CLASSIFIED "SECRET" ADVISED THAT STANLEY LEVISON STATED THAT AS A RESULT OF MEETING IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA ON MARCH THIRTY NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT, MARTIN LUTHER KING WILL RETURN TO MEMPHIS ON TUESDAY (APRIL TWO, NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT) AND THAT THERE WILL BE A BIG MARCH ON FRIDAY (APRIL FIVE, NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT).

COPY SENT TO ATLANTA REGULAR MAIL. 100-106670-3274

END

6 APR 4 1968

FJB  
FBI WASH D C  
FTB-SK

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51 APR 12 1968  
R. SULLIVAN

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR



FBI WASH DC

FBI MEMPHIS

*To Provide Security  
to Crypto System*

URGENT 4-1-68

TO DIRECTOR

FROM MEMPHIS (157-1092)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE, MEMPHIS, TENN., RM.

*RACIAL MATTERS*

RE MEMPHIS TELTYPE

RE ME TELS MARCH THIRTYONE LAST.

ON APRIL ONE INSTANT, INSPECTOR G. P. TINES, INSPECTIONAL BUREAU, MEMPHIS PD, ADVISED FOLLOWING MEMBERS OF SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE STAFF CURRENTLY IN MEMPHIS REGISTERED AT LORRAINE MOTEL: R.B. COTTONREADER, JAMES ORANGE, REV. JESSE JACKSON AND JAMES L. BEVEL. ALSO REGISTERED IN THIS MOTEL OVER WEEKEND OF MARCH THIRTY AND THIRTYONE WERE CHARLES L. GABBAGE, JOHN BURRELL SMITH AND CHARLES STEVEN BALLARD, ALL OF WHOM HAVE AS RECENTLY AS FEBRUARY SIXTEEN LAST ADMITTED TO REPRESENTATIVES OF FBI BEING ON GOVERNING BODY OF BLACK ORGANIZING POWER (BOP) AND OVERALL BLACK POWER GROUP IN MEMPHIS WHICH THEY SAY IS AFFILIATED WITH STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

TINES ADDED THAT AT TWO THIRTY P.M. APRIL ONE INSTANT, APPROXIMATELY FOUR FIVE ZERO SUPPORTERS OF MEMPHIS SANITATION STRIKE CARRYING PLACARDS MARCHED FROM CLAYBORN TEMPLE SINGLE FILE TO MAIN STREET AND CITY HALL, MEMPHIS, THEREAFTER RETURNING TO TEMPLE.

END PAGE ONE

APR 5 1968

*Placards, 1012 James, 4-1-68*

*re. to 68-1012 4-1-68*

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PAGE TWO

WERE NO INCIDENTS AND NO ARRESTS.

A SOURCE ADVISED THAT HOSEA L. WILLIAMS, DIRECTOR OF VOTERS REGISTRATION, SCLC; JAMES L. BEVEL IN CHARGE OF SCLC "NON VIOLENT ACTION"; JESSE JACKSON, DIRECTOR OF "OPERATION REDBASKET", SCLC; J. T. JOHNSON, THE MISSISSIPPI ORGANIZER OF THE SCLC, "WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT"; JAMES ORANGE AND R.B. COTTONREADER, BOTH FIELD STAFF MEMBERS SCLC HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE, MEMPHIS APRIL ONE INSTANT IN THE COMPANY OF REV. JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR., REPRESENTING COMMUNITY ON MOVE FOR EQUALITY (COMO), THE MEMPHIS MINISTERIAL GROUP LEADING STRIKE. FIELD REPRESENTATIVES OF STRIKING AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES ALSO IN ATTENDANCE ALONG WITH CHARLES CABBAGE OF BOP. WILLIAMS STATED THAT REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WOULD ARRIVE IN MEMPHIS APRIL TWO NEXT, TIME NOT SPECIFIED, BUT SCLC WOULD CONDUCT DAILY MARCHES AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN MEMPHIS, THAT A MASS MARCH WOULD BE HELD APRIL FIVE NEXT TO BE LEAD BY KING AND THAT KING WOULD POSSIBLY REMAIN IN MEMPHIS UNTIL APRIL FIVE NEXT. JAMES ORANGE WILL INSTITUTE A SERIES OF SCLC "WORK SHOPS" IN VARIOUS CHURCHES. WILLIAMS STATED THAT THE STRIKE ACTIVITY IN MEMPHIS WILL BE ESCALATED. JESSE JACKSON STATED THAT ALL MEMPHIS NEGROES WILL BE IMploRED TO TRANSFER BANK ACCOUNTS AND INSURANCE ACCOUNTS FROM WHITE INSTITUTIONS TO BLACK INSTITUTIONS AND THAT SCLC

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

WILL ORGANIZE NEGRO BUSINESSES TO TAKE OVER ALL NEGRO BUSINESS IN  
COMMUNITY AND THAT THESE GROUPS WILL "HAVE THEM SHAPE UP OR SHIP OUT".  
WILLIAMS DENIED SCLC IS ATTEMPTING TO "TAKE OVER" MEMPHIS, CLAIMED  
SCLC HERE AT INVITATION OF COME AND IS MERELY SERVING AS A CATALYST  
AND IT IS "HERE TO UNITE BLACK POWER".

JAMES L. BEVEL STATED SCLC IN MEMPHIS TO SERVE AS A POLITICAL  
PSYCHIATRIST AND THAT SCLC SEES MEMPHIS MAYOR HENRY LOEB AS A  
"SICK INDIVIDUAL". HE CLAIMED THAT WHITE RACISM RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL  
PROBLEMS IN MEMPHIS. HE CLAIMED THE CITY TRIES TO SETTLE PROBLEMS  
WITH THE ARMY AND TANKS WHEN THE REAL PROBLEM IS POVERTY AND THAT  
THE ARMY IS CALLED IN WHEN NEGROES LOOT WHEREAS THE WHITE RACE HAS  
BEEN STEALING FROM THE NEGROES ECONOMICALLY FOR CENTURIES. BEVEL  
CONCLUDED "WE UNEQUIVOCALLY BELIEVE IN AND ADVOCATE BLACK POWER".

PENDING

~~CORR PAGE ONE LINE ONE AND OTHER PLACES IN IT WORKXX WORD EIGHT  
SHLD BE "TINES" RPT "TINES"~~

END

CAB Included in letter to White House  
and Attorney General. Date 4-2-68

FBI WASH DC

TU CLR

*Handwritten signature/initials*

CC - [Handwritten marks]

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 3/30/68

Attached relates to attitudes of Martin Luther King towards the disturbance in Memphis, Tennessee, 3/28/68 and his future activities. Stanley Levison mentioned in the attached is principal advisor to King and reported in past as secret member of Communist Party.

Pertinent parts of attached to be furnished White House, Attorney General, and interested divisions of Department.

JFM:rsz

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: JFM, rsz, and others]*

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*Improving security to crypto systems*

VIA TELETYPE  
MAR 29 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

FBI NEW YORK

URGENT 3-29-68

TO DIRECTOR 100-106670 AND ATLANTA (CODE)

ATLANTA VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-136585

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JUNIOR; *SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST*

OO: AT.

*SOURCE*

(INFOR-

MATION TO BE CLASSIFIED SECRET) ADVISED MARCH TWENTY NINE, SIXTYEIGHT, MARTIN LUTHER KING TOLD STANLEY LEVISON THEY MUST FACE FACT THAT FROM PUBLIC RELATIONS POINT OF VIEW, THEY ARE IN SERIOUS TROUBLE, AND THAT WASHINGTON, DC-CAMPAIGN IS IN TROUBLE. KING SAID WILL BE DIFFICULT TO RECRUIT PEOPLE NOW. REFERRING TO MEMPHIS INCIDENT, KING SAID IT IS GREAT PERSONAL SET-BACK FOR HIM, A GREAT PUBLIC RELATIONS SET-BACK AS FAR AS HIS IMAGE AND LEADERSHIP ARE CONCERNED. KING SAID HE CONSIDERED ANNOUNCING PERSONAL FAST AS APPEAL TO MEMPHIS LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN VIOLENCE, AS A WAY OF UNIFYING

END PAGE ONE

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

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PAGE TWO

THE MOVEMENT. KING SAID HE FEELS WASHINGTON CAMPAIGN IS DOOMED. LEVISON SAID HE COULD NOT DISAGREE WITH KING MORE AND ATTEMPTED TO PERSUADE HIM THAT HE COULD NOT EXPECT TO GET ONE HUNDRED PER CENT ADHERENCE, THAT KING SHOULD NOT ACCEPT LOGIC OF PRESS THAT IF HE CAN CONTROL NINETY NINE PER CENT AND NOT ONE PER CENT, HE IS A FAILURE LEVISON SAID KING'S POSITION SHOULD BE THAT KING CAN CONTROL HIS FOLLOWERS WHO ARE NON-VIOLENT. THEY AGREED TO DISCUSS MATTER IN DEPTH AT ATLANTA MEETING MARCH THIRTY.

END

WA.....RM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC FOR NR 2 K

DE

RECEIVED  
MARCH 30 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York  
March 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Bufile 100-106670

~~SECRET~~

Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Security Matter - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned on March 28, 1968, that, late on that date, Stanley Levison and Martin Luther King, Jr. discussed the violence that occurred in Memphis, Tennessee on March 28, 1968, following King's leadership of a protest - march through downtown Memphis. King indicated that he has become so depressed over the developments in Memphis that he has considered calling off the Washington March (his self-described Poor People's Campaign, scheduled to begin in Washington, D.C. on April 22, 1968).

Levison told King that his depression was aggravated because he is physically exhausted as a result of his recent strenuous program. He counseled King not to be on the defensive over the events in Memphis but, on the contrary, should take the position that the majority of people in the Memphis March did not join in the rioting that took place, proving the effectiveness of King's leadership and his policy of non-violence. Levison emphasized that the Washington March will be different in that King will have organized this march and his forces can stress the importance of non-violence. Levison suggested that Saturday morning (March 30, 1968) would be a better time to meet in Atlanta to discuss the Memphis incident rather than meeting on Friday night (March 29, 1968) because it will give King time to rest.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Penalties

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GROUP 1  
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downgrading and  
declassification

100-106670-3215

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

Martin Luther King, Jr.

King agreed in every respect with Levison's evaluation.

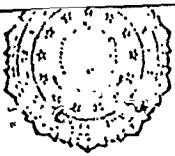
The source also ascertained that, prior to conferring with King, Levison spoke with the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, an aide of Dr. King's, who advised Levison that King has cancelled a scheduled appearance in Washington, D.C. on March 29, 1968. Abernathy also noted that King is scheduled to be in Virginia on Saturday (March 30, 1968) but will probably cancel that appearance. Abernathy continued that it was a mistake for the King forces not to have a staff in Memphis to train people in non-violence. He said it also was a mistake on the part of the King forces not to have been more aware of the local situation.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), in July, 1963.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS - CARBON

SECRET





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

SECRET

Atlanta, Georgia  
March 29, 1968

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT  
RACIAL MATTER

On March 28, 1968, a confidential source advised that during the morning of that date Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), participated in a march in Memphis, Tennessee, conducted by sanitation workers who are currently on strike in that community. During this march, incidents of violence were engaged in by a relatively small group of Negroes.

With reference to the above incidents, it was the opinion on March 28, 1968, of Reverend King, Ralph D. Abernathy, Vice President and Treasurer, SCLC; Bernard Lee, Special Aide to the President, SCLC; and Hosea Williams, Director of Voter Registration and Political Education, SCLC, that those responsible therefor were in no way connected with SCLC but rather represented a minority who obviously are neither in sympathy with Reverend King nor SCLC. Reverend King and his colleagues did not know the identities of these individuals but suspected they might possibly be connected with some "black power" organization.

Because of the disturbance in Memphis on March 28, 1968, Reverend King became extremely dejected and discouraged as to the prospects for success of SCLC's contemplated Washington Spring Project (WSP). Reverend King told his colleagues on this date that because of his participation in the Memphis march, the disturbance which developed, and the ensuing publicity he was gravely fearful that his image and that of SCLC as advocates of nonviolence will be blemished.

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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

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GROUP 1

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Downgrading and Declassification

SECRET

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT

Subscribing to the thought that those responsible for the aforementioned disturbance might represent some "black power" organization, Abernathy, Lee, and Williams on March 28, 1968, were extremely apprehensive for the personal safety of Reverend King, particularly in the event he should in the near future appear publicly in connection with activity by the striking sanitation workers in Memphis.

2

SECRET

MAR 29 1968

*TO Provide Security to Crypto System*

ENCHIPHERED

- Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 3-29-68

TO DIRECTOR 100-106670 ATLANTA RICHMOND AND WASHINGTON FIELD

ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-136585 2P

MARTIN LUTHER KING, SM - C. SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST SOURCE.

ADVISED THAT MARTIN LUTHER KING WAS

*Nt* IN CONTACT WITH STANLEY LEVISON JUST PRIOR TO

MIDNIGHT THREE TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYEIGHT WHEN THEY DISCUSSED

RIOT IN MEMPHIS. KING STATED HE WAS DEPRESSED BY RIOTS

AND WAS CONSIDERING CALLING OFF THE WASHINGTON MARCH.

LEVISON ADVISED KING HE SHOULD TAKE POSITION THAT

MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN MEMPHIS MARCH DID NOT JOIN IN THE

RIOTING AND PROVES THE EFFECTIVENESS OF KING'S POLICY

OF NON VIOLENCE. LEVISON EMPHASIZED THAT THE WASHINGTON

MARCH WILL DIFFER FROM MEMPHIS MARCH SINCE KING WILL

HAVE ORGANIZED THE WASHINGTON MARCH AND CAN STRESS THE

IMPORTANCE OF NON VIOLENCE. KING AND SCLC WILL MEET APRIL 1968

ATLANTA SATURDAY, THREE THIRTY SIXTYEIGHT TO DISCUSS

MEMPHIS INCIDENT AND PROBABLY WASHINGTON MARCH. KING

WAS SCHEDULED TO BE IN WASHINGTON, DC. THREE TWENTY

END PAGE ONE

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MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

70 APR 18 1968

PAGE TWO

NINE SIXTY EIGHT WHICH HE HAS CANCELLED AND WAS SCHEDULED  
TO BE IN VIRGINIA ON MARCH THIRTY SIXTYEIGHT WHICH HE  
WILL PROBABLY CANCEL.

END

NWL

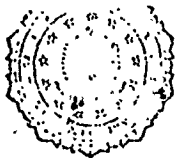
R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

SAL FTB ACK 10R3

APR 27 8 30 AM '68  
CODING UNIT

MR. SULLIVAN



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

SECRET

Atlanta, Georgia  
March 20, 1968

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT  
RACIAL MATTER

On March 28, 1968, a confidential source advised that during the morning of that date Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), participated in a march in Memphis, Tennessee, conducted by sanitation workers who are currently on strike in that community. During this march, incidents of violence were engaged in by a relatively small group of Negroes.

With reference to the above incidents, it was the opinion on March 28, 1968, of Reverend King; Ralph D. Abernathy, Vice President and Treasurer, SCLC; Bernard Lee, Special Aide to the President, SCLC; and Hosea Williams, Director of Voter Registration and Political Education, SCLC, that those responsible therefor were in no way connected with SCLC but rather represented a minority who obviously are neither in sympathy with Reverend King nor SCLC. Reverend King and his colleagues did not know the identities of these individuals but suspected they might possibly be connected with some "black power" organization.

Because of the disturbance in Memphis on March 28, 1968, Reverend King became extremely dejected and discouraged as to the prospects for success of SCLC's contemplated Washington Spring Project (WSP). Reverend King told his colleagues on this date that because of his participation in the Memphis march, the disturbance which developed, and the ensuing publicity he was gravely fearful that his image and that of SCLC as advocates of nonviolence will be blemished.

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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

SECRET  
CRYPTIC

Excluded From Automatic  
Downgrading and Declassification

SECRET

HOSEA WILLIAMS

During October, 1964, a confidential source advised that on October 3, 1964, RUTH BAYLEY, then an employee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, (SCLC), Harlem, New York Office, while discussing several SCLC personalities with one CONNIE CAMPBELL, referred to WILLIAMS. BAYLEY said WILLIAMS had mentioned to her (date not specified) that on a prior occasion (date not specified) HENRY PETER O'REILLY had told him more about politics than he could read.

SECRET

SECRET

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

In July, 1962, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, also known as JACK H. O'DELL, was considered by the Communist Party, USA, as a member of its National Committee.

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL told EDWANA SMITH December 27, 1963, he would not go back to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on the same basis because he is now a "left person" and if they cannot accept him the way he is then they will have to forget about him.

4\*

SECRET



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia  
March 29, 1968

**Title** MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT

**Character** SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTER

**Reference** Atlanta Memorandum dated and captioned as  
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 17 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI LOS ANG.

*To Provide Security  
to Crypto System*

DEFERRED 3/16/68

TO: DIRECTOR (100-106670) AND NEW ORLEANS

FROM: LOS ANGELES (100-57229) 2 P

MARTIN LUTHER KING; SM - C.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*Documents prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized person without the express approval of the FBI.*

ANAHEIM CALIFORNIA PD ADVISED TODAY KING APPEARED PRESS CONFERENCE DISNEYLAND HOTEL, ANAHEIM STATING HE NEVER ENDORSED ANY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. SPOKE HIGHLY OF SENATOR EUGENE MC CARTHY STATING HE MIGHT ENDORSE HIM AS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT ELECTION. CLAIMED HE IS PASSIVE, NON-VIOLENT BUT MILITANT AGAINST POVERTY AND VIETNAM WAR. ALSO APPEARED AS SPEAKER AT CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL LUNCHEON, ANAHEIM CONVENTION CENTER. KING STATED IF U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD DO SOMETHING ABOUT NEGRO POVERTY IN WINTER THERE WOULD BE LESS LITTLEHOOD OF SUMMER VIOLENCE. STATED THERE WILL BE MARCH ON WASHINGTON D.C. APRIL NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT AND PARTICIPANTS WILL CONDUCT "STAY-IN" AT GOVERNMENT OFFICES UNTIL END OF CONGRESSIONAL SESSION TO PROTEST NEGRO POVERTY. STATED RIDICULOUS TO SPEND

END PAGE ONE

44-110

REC-19

3235

MAR 18 1968

54 MAR 21 1968

*cc. J. Wells*

*3/20/68  
1400  
5. [Signature]*

PAGE TWO

LA 100-57229

MONEY TO KILL VIETNAMESE IN VIETNAM AND NOT HELP UNDERPRIVELEGED NEGRO.

KING LEFT ANAHEIM TWO THIRTY PM FOR UNKNOWN APPOINTMENT IN LOS ANGELES. ANAHEIM PD ADVISED BY LAPD INTELLIGENCE KING LEAVES LOS ANGELES FOR NEW ORLEANS MARCH EIGHTEEN NEXT AT TWELVE THIRTY PM ON NATIONAL AIRLINES FLIGHT NUMBER THIRTY FOUR.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

AIRTEL AND LHM FOLLOWS:

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC

P

VIA TELETYPE  
MAR 15 1968  
ENCIPHERED

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

To Provide Security  
to Crypto System

*WCS*

*J. Price*

*Rushings  
D. Wall*

URGENT 3-15-68

TO DIRECTOR  
FROM ATLANTA

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT, RM. BUREAU FILE ONE FIVE SEVEN -  
EIGHT FOUR TWO EIGHT, ATLANTA FILE ONE FIVE SEVEN - TWO NINE TWO FOUR.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM - C, BUREAU FILE ONE HUNDRED - ONE ZERO SIX  
SIX SEVEN ZERO, ATLANTA FILE ONE HUNDRED - FIVE FIVE EIGHT SIX.

RE ATLANTA AIRTEL AND LHM MARCH ONE LAST CAPTIONED AS ABOVE. *R*  
ON NIGHT MARCH FOURTEEN LAST ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ <sup>SOURCE</sup> ADVISED  
THAT DURING SCLC STAFF MEETING MARCH THIRTEEN LAST MARTIN LUTHER KING,  
JR., EXPRESSED DESIRE TO AVOID MAKING PENDING TRIP TO AFRICA.  
HE SAID HE FELT WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT REQUIRED CONTINUED ATTENTION  
ON HIS PART. ALSO SAID HE CONTEMPLATED HAVING RALPH D. ABERNATHY,  
VICE PRESIDENT AND TREASURER, SCLC, GO TO UKYICA IN HIS PLACE.  
KING STATED HE DID NOT KNOW IF HE COULD AVOID MAKING AFRICAN TRIP BUT  
END PAGE ONE

REC-59 157-8428-343  
EX-110  
MAR 18 1968  
*5*

XEROX  
4 MAR 21 1968  
MAR 19 1968

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PAGE TWO

INTENDED TO TRY. INFORMANT COULD FURNISH NO FURTHER DETAILS AT THIS TIME.

LHM FOLLOWS.

SOURCE

INFORMATION FROM ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ MUST BE CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL.

AM RM COPY SENT EACH NEW YORK AND WFO.

RECEIVED: ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 S&E

VIA TELETYPE

MAR 11 1968

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Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Gandy

3-11-68

URGENT

TO DIRECTOR 157-8428 ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE, WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE, NEW YORK, NEWARK, BALTIMORE, AND BOSTON (MAIL) (PLAIN)  
WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE VIA WASHINGTON

FROM PHILADELPHIA 157-2476 (P)

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT, RM. OO WFO.

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT, PH T-ONE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFO IN THE PAST ADVISED THREE ELEVEN INSTANT THAT REVEREND JAMES ORANGE, MARTIN LUTHER KING'S, SCLC, DIRECTOR IN PHILA STATED AS FOLLOWS.

KING WILL BE IN AFRICA IN THE FIRST PART OF APRIL SIXTYEIGHT FOR ABOUT TEN DAYS. KING WILL RETURN TO THE US AND BE IN PHILA TO REST AND MAKE FURTHER PREPARATIONS FOR WSP, WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE APRIL TWENTYTWO IN WASH., D.C. KING IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE SAFETY OF HIS FOLLOWERS AND KINGS PEOPLE ABOUT HIS SAFETY. PARTICIPANTS WILL LEAVE FROM VARIOUS CITIES IN US TO ARRIVE WASHINGTON FOUR TWENTYTWO NEXT. PHILA FOLLOWERS (SEVERAL HUNDRED EXPECTED) WILL GO TO WASH., BY BUS AFTER BEING JOINED BY HUNDREDS WHO WILL START FROM BOSTON, MASS., APRIL NINETEEN OR TWENTY NEXT. BOSTONIANS WILL GO TO NYC BY BUS, THEN WALK THROUGH NYC WHERE JOINED BY NEW YORKERS; HENCE TO NEWARK TO WALK THROUGH CITY WITH ADDITION OF NEWARK RESIDENTS; HENCE BY BUS TO TRENTON, N.J., WHERE WILL REPEAT PROCEDURE; AND THEN TO PHILA.

KING WILL JOIN GROUP IN NORTH PHILA AND ALL WILL WALK THROUGH CITY TO AIRPORT AT SOUTHWEST EXTREMITY OF PHILA.

END PAGE ONE RELAYED TO

MAR 20 1968

PAGE TWO FBI PHILA

PH 1578428

DR. KING WILL FLY TO WASH., D.C., WHILE THE MARCHERS WILL WALK ON TO CHESTER, PA., RIDE TO WILMINGTON, DEL.; MARCH THROUGH WILMINGTON; RIDE TO BALTIMORE, WALK THROUGH TOWN; AND THEN RIDE TO OUTSKIRTS OF WASH., D.C., WHERE THEY WILL BE LED THROUGH WASH., D.C., BY KING TO THE "CHERRY BLOSSOM" AREA. THEY WILL CAMP THERE UNTIL CONGRESS MEETS KING'S DEMANDS. PH T-ONE IS OF OPINION THAT ORANGE NOT REALLY HAVING GREAT SUCCESS AS HE MENTIONED NO NUMBERS OF ANTICIPATED PARTICIPANTS.

PH T- TWO, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFO IN THE PAST ADVISED THREE ELEVEN INSTANT THAT HE HAD BEEN TO SCLC, PHILA HEADQUARTERS AND THE GERNEAL CONVERSATION DOES NOT APPEAR TO INDICATE THAT THE STAFF IS RECEIVING AN ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE IN THE CITY. THIS IS AN OPINION AND FEELING ONLY.

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA. INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES COGNIZANT. LHM FOLLOWS.

PH T- ONE IS <sup>CONF SOURCE</sup> WHO REQUESTED HIS IDENTITY NOT BE DISCLOSED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU. PH T- TWO IS <sup>SOURCE</sup> BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

SOURCE

~~SCORR PAGE TWO LINE SIXTEEN~~

END

WA... MKP R RELAY MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D

FBI WASH DC

FBI WASH DC\*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FEB 27 1968

FBI - CHICAGO

*To provide  
Security to crypts  
System*

TELETYPE

PXXX DEFERRED 2/27/68

TO DIRECTOR (157-8428) AND ATLANTA (157-2924)

WASHINGTON FIELD (157-1395)

WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (157-2474) (P) 3P

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

*Racial matter*

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP), R.M. 00: WASHINGTON FIELD

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE IN THE PAST, ADVISED AS FOLLOWS RE WSP, FEBRUARY TWENTY-SEVEN, INSTANT:

MEETING SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) OFFICIALS HELD ATLANTA, GEORGIA, PM, FEBRUARY TWENTY-FOUR AND FEBRUARY TWENTY-FIVE, LAST, IN PLANNING SESSIONS FOR WSP. THOSE PRESENT INCLUDED REVEREND ANDREW YOUNG, SCLC EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT; ROSE WILLIAMS, FIELD DIRECTOR, WSP AND APPROXIMATELY EIGHT-TEN OTHERS FROM VARIOUS AREAS OF COUNTRY.

PRINCIPAL TOPIC DISCUSSION AT BOTH MEETINGS CONCERNED SECURITY PROBLEMS INVOLVING SCLC PRESIDENT MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., IN COURSE OF WSP, ARISING FROM FEARS EFFORTS WILL BE MADE TO ASSASSINATE KING. NO SPECIFIC THREATS TO KING

END PAGE ONE

*Chance*

*DMB*

*ja R*

*ja*

REC-113 FEB 28 157-84-263

11 MAR 5 1968

*F54*  
55 MAR 7 1968

*5-Drew*

REB...

RELAYED TO 6070

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PAGE TWO CG 157-2474.

REFERRED TO, DESPITE QUESTIONING THIS REGARD, BUT "BLACK PEOPLE" AS WELL AS WHITES TO BE "WATCHED". NO INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS REFERRED TO SPECIFICALLY AS SOURCE OF CONCERN CONCERNING KING'S SAFETY.

NO BODY GUARDS AS SUCH ASSIGNED, HOWEVER, YOUNG STATED PEOPLE WOULD BE PRESENT AT WSP WITH GUNS TO PROTECT KING. INNER AND OUTER CIRCLE OF PEOPLE TO PROTECT KING WITH OWN BODIES WILL BE FORMED, HOWEVER, DETAILS NOT WORKED OUT THESE MEETINGS. KING NOT PRESENT THESE MEETINGS.

JAMES BEVEL, ASSOCIATED WITH CHICAGO WSP EFFORTS, PRESENT AT SCLC HEADQUARTERS ALSO BUT DID NOT PARTICIPATE THESE MEETINGS. UNDERSTOOD BEVEL PLANNED PROTEST OF INADEQUATE FUNDS AVAILABLE CHICAGO WSP STAFF, HOWEVER, NOT KNOWN WHETHER BEVEL PROTESTED AS PLANNED TO SCLC OFFICIALS THIS MEETING.

END PAGE TWO





FBI

Date: 2/16/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8428)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2474) (P)  
 SUBJECT: WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)  
 RM  
 (OO: WFO)

*D. [unclear]  
 [unclear]*

Re Chicago teletype to Bureau dated 2/15/68, and Chicago airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated 2/9/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are twelve copies of an LHM captioned as above with copies as noted for offices indicated below for information purposes.

SOURCE The source utilized in the enclosed LHM is \_\_\_\_\_ The enclosed LHM is classified "confidential" since unauthorized disclosure of same could result in identification of the confidential source and

*C*

- 4 - Bureau (Encls. ~~ENCLOSURE~~)
  - 1 - 100-428794 (COMINFIL - SCLC)
- 3 - Atlanta (Encls. 3) (RM)
  - 1 - 157-2924 (WSP)
  - 1 - 100-5718 (SCLC)
  - 1 - 100-5586 (M. L. KING)
- 2 - WFO (Encls. 2) (RM)
  - 1 - Jackson (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1 - Mobile (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1 - Charlotte (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1 - Columbia (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1 - Richmond (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1 - Baltimore (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 5 - Chicago
  - 1 - 157-830 (JAMES BEVEL)
  - 1 - 100-33358 (M. L. KING)
  - 1 - 105-16238 (SCLC)
  - 1 - 157-1832 (RALPH HENRY)

REC-347

EX 106

FEB 19 1968

200

RAC:joo  
(20)

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Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

- REPRODUCED COPY AND COPY OF ENCL. FILED IN

jeopardize the future effectiveness thereof. As an additional precaution, the LHM has been datelined Washington, D. C., rather than Chicago, Illinois. No copies are being furnished to local agencies Chicago in order to further protect source.

Chicago is following captioned matter and subsequent pertinent developments will be appropriately provided the Bureau and interested offices.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
February 16, 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)  
RACIAL MATTERS

On February 15, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

On February 12, 1968, a meeting of members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was held at the Paschel Motor Inn, Atlanta, Georgia, concerning the Washington Spring Project which is planned to take place during the first part of April, 1968, in Washington, D. C. The following SCLC officers and staff members were present at this meeting:

- Martin Luther King,
- President of SCLC
- Reverend James Bevel
- Reverend Jesse Jackson
- Andrew Young
- Bernard La Fayette
- Hosea Williams
- Reverend Fred C. Bennette
- Bill Rutherford
- J. T. Johnson
- Ralph Henry
- Stoney Cooks

The discussion during this meeting primarily concerned the march from Baltimore, Maryland, to Washington, D. C., which is to signal the beginning of the Washington Spring Project. It was reported at this meeting that there is believed to be

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Group 1  
Excluded from Automatic  
Downgrading and  
Declassification

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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

a serious threat against the life of Martin Luther King and that an attempt upon his life will be made during this march. In order to counteract such an attempt, Reverend Bennette was assigned to be in charge of security for Martin Luther King and Ralph Henry was assigned to be Reverend Bennette's assistant. It was indicated that those involved in this security should be alert for danger, not only from white persons but also from Negroes. No additional information was given at this time concerning any possible threats.

It was reported by several of those present that serious difficulty had been encountered in the northern states in recruiting participants for the Washington Spring Project. It was, therefore, decided to concentrate the recruitment of participants in the southern states.

It was also reported that serious financial problems have developed, especially in certain areas. Hosea Williams presented proposed budgets for the "financially deprived or unresponsive areas involved in the Washington campaign." He stated that for one reason or another the following areas seemed to be having unsolved financial problems in getting their mobilization and recruiting started:

- Mississippi
- Alabama
- Georgia
- North Carolina
- South Carolina
- Virginia
- Washington, D. C.
- Baltimore, Maryland

Williams stated that it was originally planned that each project area was to raise its own funds, however, this does not seem possible in the poorer areas at this time. He reported that he had conferred with project leaders in the above areas and they state that they can do the job provided they are furnished the resources to get it started. Based on Williams' conversations with these leaders, a budget has been drawn up for each of the above areas which provides between \$1,200 to \$1,500 per month with the exception of South Carolina which will receive \$740 and Washington, D. C., which will receive \$3,500. These budgets include payments for items such

Re: WASHINGTON SPRING PROJECT (WSP)

CONFIDENTIAL

as bi-monthly payments to subsistence workers, travel, telephone expenses, costs of utilities, mailing expenses, office supplies and materials, and entertainment.

At the conclusion of this meeting, it was announced that subsequent meetings will be held every Monday for the next three weeks in an effort to complete the plans for the Washington Spring Project.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3\*6 -